THE New Republic

How 1954 Looked to Herblock and Fitzpatrick

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IT'S NEWS TO MUTUAL

BY WALTER GOODMAN

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JANUARY 3, 1955

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

This column's duty, 51 weeks a year, is to view with alarm and heave bricks at the stuffed shirts behind plate glass windows. It is not a distasteful occupation; someone has to do it, God knows. But at heart we are a simple sentimentalist, as hopeful as the next man. So on this final week of 1954 let's sit down before the fire, relax and count some of our blessings.

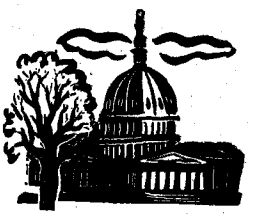
Things are dangerous in world affairs, and will be so for our lifetime, but they could be worse. Eisenhower made the careful judgment the other day that chances of global war are probably less now than when he took over NATO in 1951. Atomic stalemate is here. The world's fear of war with the H-bomb is probably deeper than for 1000 years. This could be a mighty tool for peace.

Looking back since the war ended we can take quiet pride in the course of the United States. We won't rub our generosity in—it is the usual sweet-sour mixture of idealism and self-interest. But on the whole America showed largeness of spirit: generosity to friends, magnanimity to foes. The record is there and for perspective the fact deserves to be stated. The sad part is that, with FDR, we were willing originally to play ball with Moscow. America has made bad blunders since 1944, but for all that we can't feel the Cold War was our doing.

Asia goes less well for the USA in 1954 than Europe; in fact it goes rather badly. It is hard to get comfort from the picture. But at least Americans are beginning to learn their limitations; it is slowly dawning on us that we do not need scapegoats for China going Communist; perhaps China would have gone Communist in spite of anything the USA said or did. And again, in the last six months Ike has twice actively intervened to halt his own belligerent advisers who wanted a little Asian war. It rather looks now as though we could avoid the direct clash in China which Nixon was telling the editors, only last Spring, might be a good thing.

At home we count our blessings too. McCarthy got censured. The Democrats won the election. Both were achievements though both require qualifications. McCarthy is still free to operate. Yet the extraordinary thing here is that McCarthy finally forced his own defeat. Most of the Senate wanted to duck the issue and Joe's lawyer prepared an effective line of defense. With a kind of megalomania that is almost irrational McCarthy grew steadily more unruly and finally leveled his attack straight at Ike. Washington notes this soberly. The McCarthy action was not merely unjust: it was worse; it was bad politics.

The election substituted the conservative Democrats for the conservative Republicans which is only a small gain. But in the switch Ike's internationalism gained support; the electorate, with pinpoint accuracy, picked off a trio of pro-McCarthy representatives, and it also gave us some new, effective liberals, like Democrat Neuberger (Ore.) and Republican Case (N.J.). The gain is mild, but it would be boorish to ignore it.



What really stimulates hope is a possible change of climate. We can't be sure yet but we sense what might be the beginning of a new mood. Estes Kefauver mentioned it last week, before the American Jewish Congress. In the election campaign against him, he recalled, his GOP opponent ran advertisements charging the choice was between "Americanism and Marxism." That kind of smear was used also against Senatorial candidates Murray, Paul Douglas, Joe O'Mahoney, Clifford Case and others. A few years ago these tactics defeated Tydings, Frank Graham and Claude Pepper. In 1954, almost without exception, they failed.

There are other signs that the Washington mood is less jittery. The Administration has set out to calm Moscow's anger and fear over German rearmament instead of growing angry in turn. Calmness has also been Ike's reaction to the imprisoned US fliers in China.

It is very hard to make accurate appraisal of these matters of the spirit. Personally it seems to us, at year's end, the atmosphere is more relaxed. We sense that newspapers are getting courage to speak out; most of them have known that treason trials and purges were bad things, the point is that now some of them begin to feel it is safe to say so. They are peeping from cyclone cellars. This does not mean the thing has ended. The newest victim of know-nothingism is the agricultural attache at Tokyo, Wolf Ladejinsky, fired by Secretary Benson. Rep. Walter Judd (R, Minn.) calls Ladejinsky "the most effective man we had in Asia." But he made the mistake of leaving three sisters behind when he left Russia in the early days of the Soviet regime. So Benson forbids him to travel through the deserts and jungles of Asia advising on ways to save peasants from revolution and Communism. Even Scott McLeod cleared Ladejinsky. But the security officers in Agriculture no doubt needed something to justify next year's appropriations. The Democrats are protesting loudly. The press is uniformly critical. Still better, the Fund for the Republic has set in motion a study of the federal loyalty program—and in the week in which Rep. Brazilla Reece (R, Tenn.) set out to forbid foundation encouragement of free thought and speech.

There is also at the year end the economic situation. The usual paeans of enthusiasm are now issuing from brokers' houses and business associations. The 1953-1954 recession did not develop into a general depression; that is good. On the other hand economic activity is $20 billion or so below what the competent National Planning Association calls "a level of reasonably full employment." Our output and economy have failed to grow in accordance with the growth in labor force and productivity. That could be very serious indeed if not corrected fairly quickly. But if this column is uncertain about the immediate future it has no doubt at all about the long-range vitality of America. We shall keep on doubling output every 25 years: our material prospects seem fantastic. And so we end the year. For this one time let us count our blessings hopefully.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Walk Softly in Asia

THE LAST YEAR has directed Western attention to Southern Asia as the main battlefield of the Cold War—an area almost totally neglected by American policy until now. Despite panic reactions during the siege of Dien Bien Phu, America has come to realize the inadequacy of the military approach to a problem which is primarily economic and political—indeed psychological. The stage now seems set for a most welcome shift in America's Asian policy toward long-term economic aid rather than short-term military improvisation. But there is a danger that in the search for a bold new formula likely to attract Congressional support—"a Marshall Plan for Asia" has already been suggested—America may commit herself to an approach which, like the disappointing SEATO Pact, is more likely to repel than to attract the Asian peoples it is designed to help.

In particular, there is the danger that hasty action may damage the most effective organization in this field, the Colombo Plan, without substituting anything as good. The Colombo Plan is now half way through its first phase—its third annual report has just been published. Launched in 1950 as a purely Commonwealth project—all the independent members of the Commonwealth except South Africa take part—the Plan has since won full support from Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Japan, the Philippines, Nepal, Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos. In fact it covers all the non-Communist countries of Asia except Korea and Formosa. The USA joined as a donor member in 1951. The International Bank and Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East maintain close liaison.

The main aims of the Colombo Plan are to co-ordinate the development plans of the Asian countries, and to help them in obtaining capital and technical assistance. The central staff of the Plan are very few in number, since nearly all the work is done by the member governments in consultation with one another. There is thus no real parallel with the Marshall Plan in Europe, with its great international staff in OEEC and the large American missions under ECA. Moreover the economic problems in Asia are quite different—trade and payments are less important at present than capital expansion.

The latest progress report is encouraging—public investment in development increased a quarter over the previous year to a total of £544 million—two-thirds of the finance for this came from countries outside the area. Food production has raced ahead: India exceeded her planned increase of food grains by 50 percent. On the other hand, the gap between plans and resources is widening rather than narrowing. Neither the Asian countries themselves nor the other members have provided as much capital as was hoped for. So anxious eyes are being turned toward the USA. For though the Commonwealth countries should certainly be giving more help than they are at present, unless their total contribution is matched by that from America, it will be impossible to continue the present rate of progress.

Nevertheless, there are misgivings lest, in demanding influence to match her contribution, America may insist on conditions which many of the Asian members of the Colombo Plan could not accept. For example, America might require a rationalization of the untidy machinery which now exists for economic development in Asia—either by trying to bring Korea and Formosa into the Colombo Plan, or by trying to run the whole operation through SEATO. Either of these alternatives would certainly drive out the great majority of the Asian countries, which have so far refused to commit themselves in the Cold War. It is in fact essential that in helping the Asian peoples to help themselves, the Western powers should not ask for anything in return except the social stability which economic development should produce.

In the second place, America must reconcile herself to the fact that in Asia there is little basis for the primary accumulation of capital through private enterprise. The bulk of capital investment must be carried out by governments with aid from other governments. No miracle in legal drafting of investment treaties can make countries like Burma or Indonesia provide opportunities for private investment as attractive as exist already in the Western Hemisphere. It is to be hoped that the Asian countries will not positively discourage private investment, as some have tended to do in the past. But if they are foolish enough to do so, the West would be most unwise to use economic aid as a bargaining weapon on this issue.

There is little doubt that by now most American officials who have had to study the problem recognize these dangers. But when the debate begins in Congress, the temptation to dramatize and simplify the issues will increase. Even in the Marshall Plan, the gap between European realities and American expectations grew dangerously wide. Similar salesmanship applied to Asian policy could wreck the whole project at the outset.

Nehru and Tito

IN INDIA, it looks as though Marshal Tito is taking time out from his fight against the Kremlin to have his first real spree. Fanatically "dry" Bombay permitted him to "import into and export from the state foreign liquor without permit and free from fees leviable under the Prohibition Act." His yacht, the *Galeb*, brought a party of 35 including the Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia. The Sindri Fertilizer Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotives Factory, a Community Project Area, and several National Laboratories and Scientific Institutes will show the leader of 17 million Yugoslavs what the leader of 360 million Indians has been able to accomplish since both of them started out almost simulta-

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neously at the close of World War II.

Underlying this holiday visit, however, was serious purpose. Tito's five days in Delhi were more important than his 10 days in the country side. Enough time has been set aside from the usually unending social whirl for the two leaders to confer privately and intimately. As was widely assumed, the resulting joint statement was one stressing the value of non-interference in internal affairs—one of the five "Tibet Principles."

By implication, the Western world has been called upon in this statement to concentrate against "international Communism" rather than Communism itself. Before, during and after his trip to China, Prime Minister Nehru emphasized this distinction. He sees the danger as being less Communism than the loyalty to Russia of Communists in any country, and the doctrine of perpetual revolution under cover of which Communists of one country give *sub rosa* assistance to the Communists of another in attempts at subversion.

Nehru could not have found a more natural European counterpart than Tito. The Yugoslav leader rules a country which continues to preach Communism, yet he is an old and effective enemy of international Communism. He revolted not against Marxism but against the Kremlin thesis that Communism is an international movement which requires direction by the USSR. Tito has been the first Communist to admit that just as a democracy at home can be imperialism abroad, so can Communism at home be imperialism abroad.

A fighter against any imperialism of the Western democracies is conferring with a fighter against the imperialism practiced by the Communists in the hope that a common front can be set up against both parties. Nehru does not believe in "ganging up" either against the West or against the East, but he certainly believes in extending the "area of peace" from Asia to Europe in order to combat encroachments from either side which imperil the national freedom of middling and small countries.

It is this community of approach to coexistence that has brought together these two geographically distant countries. The result will not be a third bloc but the intensification of a third force which Nehru hopes could bring, at its negative level, at least an uneasy equilibrium between the two great blocs, and, at its positive level, at least open up a vista of co-operation across ideological frontiers.

K. SHRIDHARANI

Boomerang Again

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has had bad luck with his Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Its first chairman, Clarence Manion, soon revealed that he had made up his mind beforehand on the major issues the Commission was to study. He actively championed the anti-Administration Bricker Amendment, and had to be asked to resign. He promptly re-appeared as Co-Chairman (along with Robert E. Wood, former head of the America First Committee) of the anti-Eisenhower For America group. Eisenhower appointed a new Chairman, who in turn appointed a task force to study federal-state relations in the Unemployment Compensation Program. But before the task force could get to work, the American Federation of Labor withdrew its representative and charged that the group was "stacked" in favor of business—out of 11 seats, one was given labor. After a while, the task force was reconstituted—two seats for labor—and set to work. Its job is now done and nobody is happy, least of all Eisenhower.

The task force is split 6 to 5; the majority has recommended—in a "confidential" report which it leaked to the press—that the federal government virtually abdicate responsibility for the Unemployment Compensation Program and leave its administration to the states. The majority was made up of the delegates from General Electric, General Motors, US Steel, Standard Oil of California, and A & P, who were joined by the Chairman of the Texas Unemployment Compensation Commission, Weldon Hart. The minority includes two professors of economics (one the task force chairman), the director of the Labor Department's Bureau of Unemployment Security, and both labor representatives (AFL and CIO).

Weldon Hart for a long time sided with the minority—which was expected since the organization of State Unemployment Directors is on record as opposed to the course recommended by the majority. But at the last minute Hart switched, saying that he did not represent the Directors but the state of Texas. He had received a phone call from Texas Governor Allan Shivers.

The result: a solid block of big-business representatives, joined by a man who now speaks for the Shivers point of view, have urged upon the full Presidential Commission—which must make its decision in early January—a recommendation opposed by the federal administration, the state administrators, a majority in Congress and organized labor: to give 48 state legislatures the right to shape 48 different approaches to unemployment compensation. It seems unlikely that the full Commission will adopt this blueprint for chaos. But once again, Eisenhower's habit of loading each committee, commission and advisory group with men from one sector of society has boomeranged.

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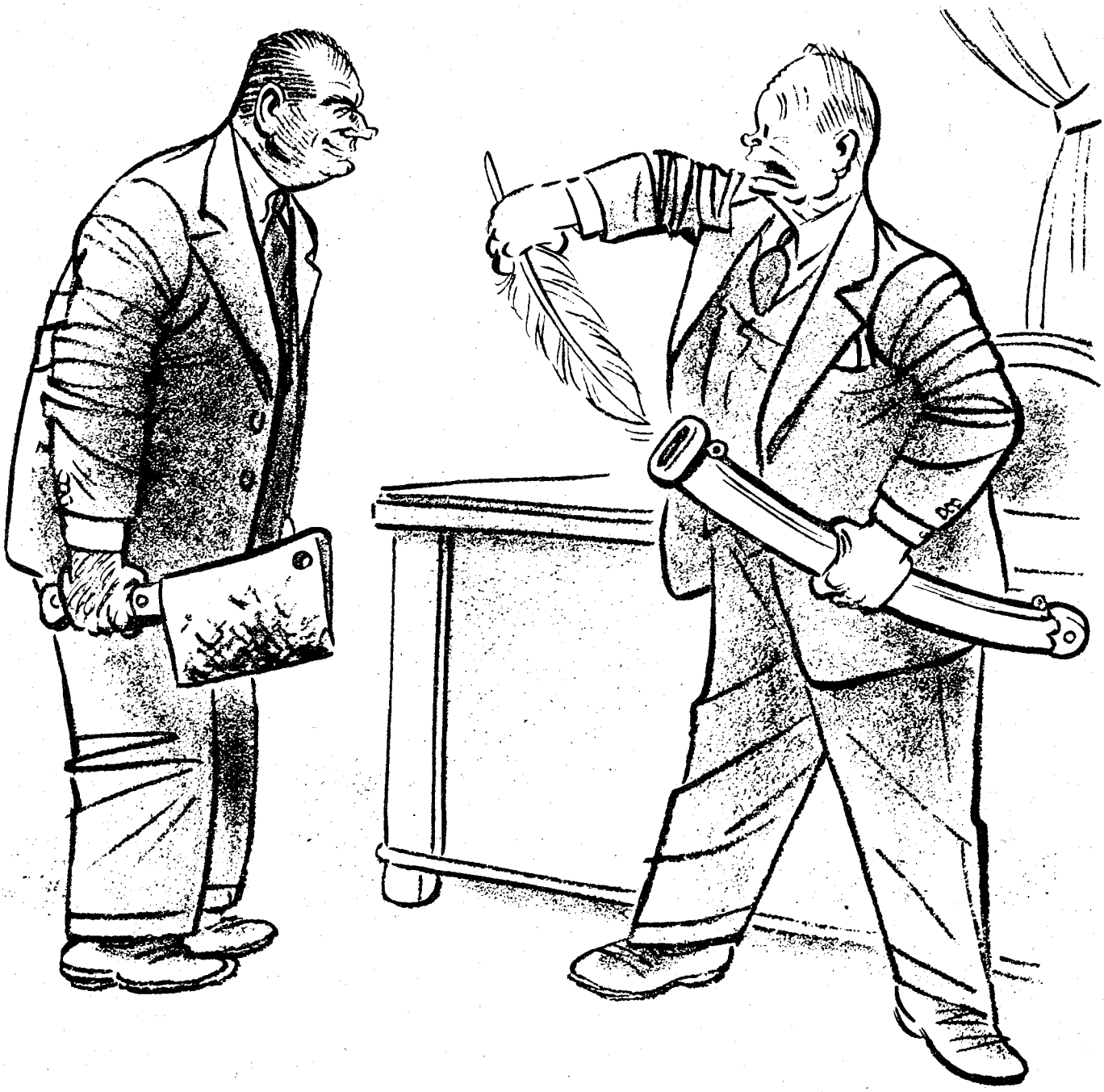
How 1954 Looked

to HERBLOCK and Fitzpatrick



Have a care, sir

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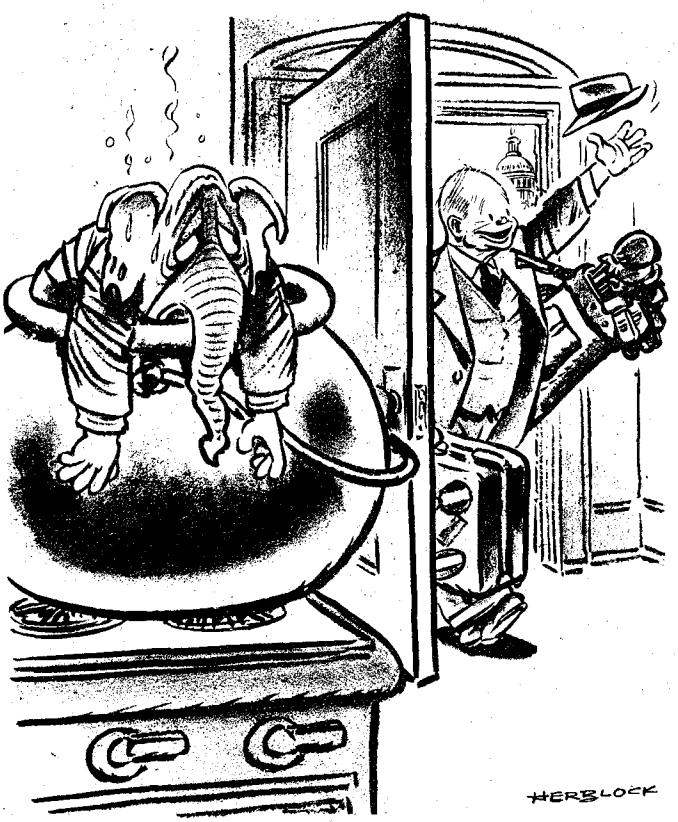
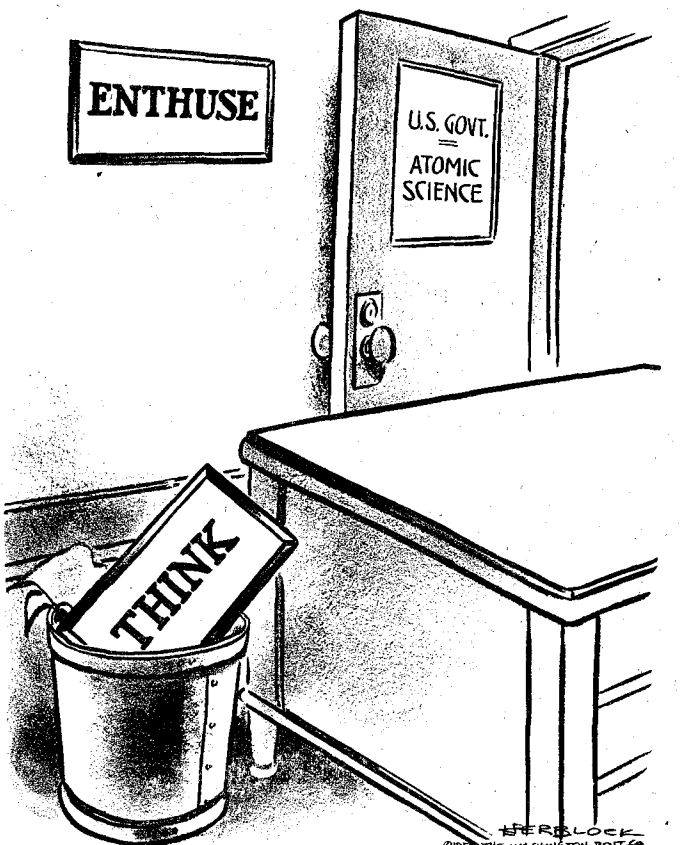
Here he comes now

What was wrong with Charlie's crack about dogs?



Hi, everybody—what's cooking?



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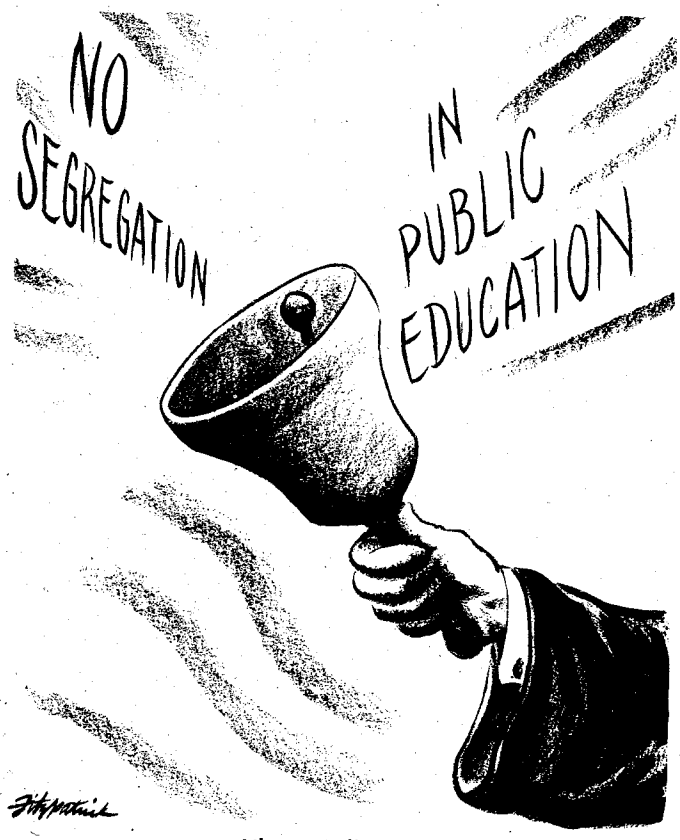
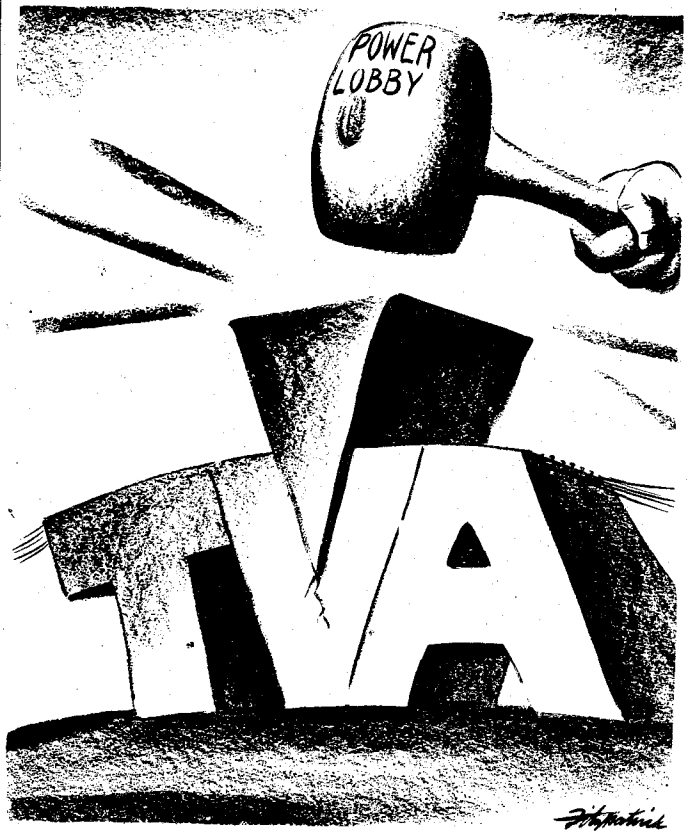
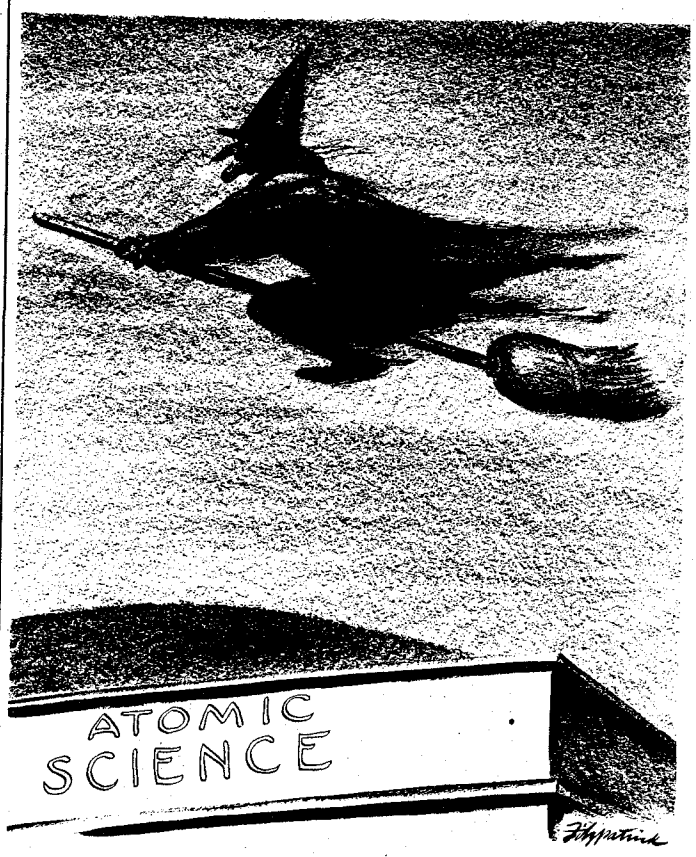


Liberty Bell, 1954



Entering Wedge

How far are we going with Chiang?



Strange age we are living in

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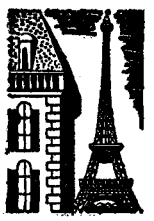
Paris Dispatch CORPS de BALLET

General Charles de Gaulle describes in the first volume of his wartime memoirs the difference between his conception of national politics and that of French politicians who had fled to safety across the Atlantic to the US, Canada and South America. He writes:

> For me politics, in the national drama, ought to be action in the services of a strong and simple idea. But they . . . would not agree that it should be anything else than a choreography of attitudes and combinations, led by a ballet of professional performers, from which nothing would ever come except articles, speeches, a show at the tribune, and a distribution of places.

Pierre Mendès-France might make a similar comment on the contrast between his conception and that of his bitterest opponents in the debate in the French National Assembly on the ratification of West German rearmament and Western European Union. The Premier had a strong and simple idea: the Paris agreements should be ratified quickly without any ifs or buts. There was nothing moralistic or legalistic and little ideological about the idea. The issue was patriotic nationalism in the best Gaullist tradition —it was whether France would keep her word, whether she would keep her strength, whether she would keep her place as an equal of the US and Britain among the leaders of the Atlantic coalition.



The Premier's argument relied on no fine phrases or nice sentiments. France was of the free world, of the West, of the Atlantic powers. There was no other place for her. A reversal of alliance was unthinkable. But France would have influence in the Atlantic alliance—and as an Atlantic power in eventual four-power negotiations with the Soviets—only if the Assembly ratified—and by a vote large enough to permit the French Government to claim to represent fairly the parliament and people of France.

Everything else was secondary. Mendès-France said this with bluntness reminiscent of de Gaulle in his least compromising mood.

The size of the approving majority was also important. A small majority would keep alive doubts about the solidarity of the Atlantic alliance and of the reliability of France's place in it. Only an impressively large majority would dispel such doubts, strengthen both the alliance and France's role in it, and thereby permit the holding of the four-power talks with some reasonable hope of success. Delay was out of the question. So was any form of conditional approval.

All this however seemed too simple, too clear, too direct for the complex purposes of the Palais Bourbon's professional choreographers. Not a single speaker showed any real enthusiasm about WEU; not a single one failed to deplore German rearmament in one way or another. Those who favored WEU did so for the most part with *"la mort dans l'ame."* The phrase was used many times. Literally it means "death in the soul" and its nearest equivalent is a strong version of "sick at heart." For although reason may dictate a political marriage with a rearmed Germany, the deepest feelings and the worst fears are there to protest.

The opponents were divided, roughly, into three groups. The first included all those who profess to reject German rearmament in any form whatsoever at this stage of European development. In this group the Communists are allied to men in all parties, especially on the far Right. The second group was made up of those who thought that a "last chance" big-four talk with the Soviets should be held before ratification, rather than before the application of the Paris agreements. The third —and most important—group was made up of the die-hard Europeanists, the supporters of the EDC. Here were the men who use their undying love for the late EDC to cloak a burning hatred for Mendès-France and all his works. Here were the men who were bent on destroying him politically, sooner or later.

Georges Bidault is the leader of the anti-Mendèsists. With him are other major figures: Pinay, Reynaud, Pleven, Mollet, Teitgen. Their following was in the Popular Republican Movement (MRP), and in parties of the Center-Right and Right. And their aim was not to overthrow the Premier on the issue of ratification, but to cut down the approving majority by abstentions to such a degree that a nominal victory for the Paris agreements would be an actual defeat for Mendès-France.

It was to this *cabal that the Premier* addressed himself when he warned of the danger of a small majority for WEU. Its leaders thought it wonderfully clever to support the Maurice Fauré "suspensive clause" which would hold up the application of WEU and German rearmament until the entrance into effect of the "European agency of armament production." Naturally the Premier wouldn't dance to such a tune. And his refusal was taken as justification by the ballet of professional performers for ordering abstentions. Everybody who follows the intricacies of French politics knows what the plan of the anti-Mendèsites is. When Mendès-France is forced to resign—sooner or later—Edgar Fauré, a member of the Premier's own party (as is also the other Fauré), and also a member of the Cabinet, will be tempted to take over the "interim." He will offer a domestic program seemingly close to the Mendès-France New Deal but in fact much farther to the Right. Then, after an interval to permit the re-formation of the pro-Mendès-France combination, Antoine Pinay will come back to power.

The purpose of the elaborate intrigue has nothing to do with nationalism or patriotism; it concerns what de Gaulle called the "distribution of places."

The "show at the tribune" of most of the elected representatives of the French people has been a melancholy—if not a tragic—performance. The feelings of the French about German rearmament may justify a negative vote on WEU, as the hard, lucid, realistic reasonability for which they have long been famous equally justifies an affirmative vote. But abstention must inevitably point toward the absence of France from her proper role in the Atlantic alliance. And France's real friends can only view it with *"la mort dans l'ame."*

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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Some Say It's Opinion But . . .

IT'S NEWS TO MUTUAL

by Walter Goodman

Fulton Lewis Jr.

WHEN Robert F. Hurleigh, Fulton Lewis Jr.'s protegé, took over the Mutual Broadcasting System's Washington news bureau in September, he expressed pleasure at finding "myself a conservative working for a conservative network." The bureau's two-man staff expressed their feelings by resigning, without comment. They were not the first to walk out on Mutual in recent months. The network's treatment of the news—by such practitioners as Robert Hurleigh—has been cause for comment among radio journalists for some time.

There was, for example, Mutual's generosity to the sponsors of the testimonial dinner to Roy M. Cohn, held at New York's Hotel Astor on April 28. On hand to pay tribute were Senator McCarthy, Fulton Lewis Jr., and George Sokolsky. Some hours before the soup was served, MBS President Thomas J. O'Neil telephoned Rabbi Benjamin Schultz and offered to help publicize the dinner. Air time was cleared hastily and that night Mutual offered all its network affiliates a 35-minute recording of the speeches delivered by Senator McCarthy and Roy Cohn. The other networks also covered the meeting, but, in line with their restraints on giving free radio time to controversial figures, they merely reported what happened.

Another incident: Late in January, 1954, as pressure for Senator Bricker's campaign to restrict the President's treaty-making powers reached its peak, Mutual's Washington news bureau received an unusual order from its headquarters in New York—to cover a dinner held by a group calling itself The Vigilant Women for the Bricker Amendment. A debate was scheduled and the Mutual staff was told to record it in full for broadcasting at a future time. The half-hour show which went out to the nation had something of a good old audience-participation melodrama about it. The vigilant ladies punctuated the speech against the amendment—prepared by Princeton Professor Edwin Corwin but read by a substitute—with boos and laughter; Clarence Manion, taking the affirmative in his customarily forceful manner, was interrupted frequently too—with cheers—and ended up to a grand ovation. The transcribed "debate," recognizable as a set-up to any perceptive journalism school undergraduate, was offered to local outlets as a piece of straight, on-the-spot news coverage. Newscasters on the other networks—those who found the meeting worth covering at all—allotted about 20 seconds to it at the tail end of their shows.

These two examples of ambitious news-gathering support Mr. Hurleigh's claim. He might have added that its "conservative" bent makes Mutual unique in American radio—the network with an observable point of view. Other broadcasters have been doing their best to avoid just that charge for a number of years.

WITH no direct control by the Federal Communications Commission, the networks are legally very much on their own as regards what they broadcast and how they broadcast it. But they are subject to all the unofficial pressures of the hour—anybody can boycott a sponsor or swear at a station manager or write a piece for the *New Republic*—and there is always the threat that Congress will enact legislation permitting the FCC to treat networks as though they exist.

Between the Scylla of using the airwaves to push a special viewpoint, on the pattern of a newspaper's editorial page, and the Charybdis of blue-penciling itself into brainlessness as a way of forestalling listener, advertiser, or Congressional rebuke lie the clear waters of

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responsible radio journalism. In a recent speech, William S. Paley, chairman of the board of the Columbia Broadcasting System, called on his industry to show by its treatment of news and comment that it merits the same freedom and prestige now accorded the press. He said: "I make no pleas for uniformity in the ground rules which each broadcaster establishes in this field. Only one basic tenet must be observed: There must be fairness and balance. No matter what the station owner's personal predilections—and he is bound to have them—there must be fairness and balance among all viewpoints."

THE three major networks—CBS, NBC and ABC—with CBS in the lead—have on the whole given news responsibility to persons selected neither for their political rightness nor for their political blankness but for their competence as news gatherers. Most of these men exercise this trust diligently and independently; most of them are plugging no special line and don't keep a set of blinders for difficult situations. Mutual is different, and its technique merits a closer look.

"The world's largest network" is not a network at all in theory. In theory the 570 stations which make up the Mutual Broadcasting System are members of a cooperative, "the stations operating the network service rather than the chain running the station," as a 1935 executive report put it. MBS was formed on September 15, 1934, by a group of important independents—including WOR in New York and WGN in Chicago—as a way to compete with the established networks without bowing to central direction of their own affairs. Several affiliates were added during the early months, and in 1936 the Don Lee chain of California threw in its lot, thus giving Mutual transcontinental coverage. So it went . . . affiliates and income rising steadily up to and through the war. Under a succession of businessmen-presidents drawn from outside the radio field, it became the richest network in number of stations—mostly low-powered, out-of-the-way stations—while remaining the poorest in volume of time sales; all of which was cause for some viewing-with-disdain among the giants who had long since captured the lucrative big city audiences.

Mutual's newsroom was made into an alive and highly reputed operation by Abe Schecter. The network's commentators during the forties ranged from Quentin Reynolds to Fulton Lewis Jr., to William Shirer and Fiorello La Guardia; several of its discussion programs, such as "American Forum of the Air" and "Meet the Press," set promising examples for the industry. But the "hometown network" was suffering from its cumbersome multiple ownership arrangement as well as from the heavy handicaps of a latecomer competing with already powerful corporations.

Changes were wanted, and Thomas J. O'Neil was the man to make them. Born in 1915, the same year that his father became president of the General Tire Company, the young executive looked toward higher things than merely running one of the country's biggest corporations. In 1951, General Tire already owned the Yankee Network in the northeast and the Don Lee chain, which gave 36-year-old President O'Neil control of about 40 percent of Mutual's stock. By merging with Teleradio Inc., a Macy's subsidiary and operator of New York's WOR, he boosted this to almost 60 percent, including seven stations directly owned, operated and deliverable to advertisers. All this, of course, is contrary to Mutual's spirit, not to mention its by-laws, which limit stock ownership so as to retain the original co-op flavor. But no one has complained. The remaining 40 percent is split between Chicago's WGN, located in the *Tribune* building, and several independents. With television's encroachment on radio in the big cities, Mutual's grassroots strength, long mocked at in the industry, has been paying off. It's only temporary—till TV moves in on the hamlets—but it resulted in a 17-percent billings increase for Mutual in 1952 and a further 10-percent rise in 1953.

Disc jockeys, sports, mysteries and news—these are the ingredients which, by Mutual's own boast, make it the friendliest spot on your radio dial. Fifty-five million fans followed the 1953 World Series via Mutual, and it's a dull week in the sports world when some exciting contest doesn't take up 15 or so hours of a local affiliate's on-the-air time. The network's claim as regards mysteries is equally justified. If you live in New York, just flip to 710 on your dial during the peak weekday listening hour of eight to nine p.m. and you have nine chances out of 10 of getting a crime show. The single exception is an effort called "Take A Number." It's been suggested that this is a crime too.

AS FOR straight news, Mutual holds its own as regards quantity; in 1952 the Johnson Wax Company paid for the largest schedule of newscasts ever sponsored by a single radio advertiser, and five-minute round-ups abound through the day. The network has a lot of commentators too. Some have been brought to it by advertisers, but many belong to Mutual's own stable; local or national concerns can sponsor them if they think it's worth their while. Of the latter, a few of the minor attractions seem primarily concerned with reporting the news. Cecil Brown and Cedric Foster, for instance, are by no means apolitical—the former is a quiet liberal; the latter's essays seem compounded of equal parts of the editorial pages of the *Herald Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Times*—but neither is grinding his ax so furiously that you can't see the news for the sparks. They are reporters—a calling which distinguishes them around MBS.

Mutual's Number One commodity is Fulton Lewis Jr., with about 16 million listeners to his nightly 15-minute chat—"the top of the news as it looks from here." And they are loyal listeners. When *Life* magazine accused the

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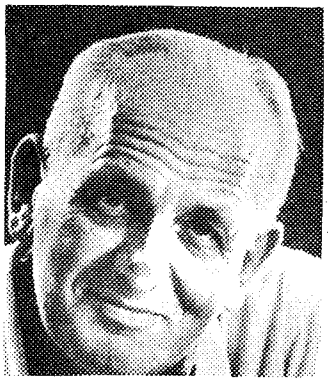
Cecil Brown

Bob Considine


Gabriel Heatter

Robert F. Hurleigh

commentator in 1950 of airing discredited charges about Henry Wallace and Harry Hopkins giving atomic information to the Russians, his fans canceled subscriptions right and left, damning the magazine for irreverance. At the time, *Life* suggested that "the broadcasters and sponsors who bring him [Lewis] and others of his breed to the millions might get together and have a little talk of their own. They have a lot to answer for."

LEWIS' 2,000-word scripts have an informal flavor, full of guy-next-door hesitations and an almost bashful stumbling over words. His substance, however, shows no trace of shyness. When he's not revealing the Communist Front connections of most everybody or breaking a lance for McCarthy, he goes after scandals in high places. Some months ago he told a story of gambling in Maryland that got him hauled into court by irate officials on a libel charge that wouldn't stick. He exposed the never-to-be-finished Canadian Oil Project during the war and did a vigorous job on the Latin American highway fiasco.

But his more important business leaves little time for such diversions. He's been quoted as saying, "God damn it. I love this God-damned country of ours and I'm not going to stand by idly while a bunch of CIO-backed Communist left-wing crackpots try to wreck it." This love-of-country is usually manifested by fire-cracker adjective denunciations of the people and things in it he doesn't like. And of these there is an abundance: TVA; the Atlantic Charter; FDR, Mrs. Roosevelt and anyone connected with them; the Democratic Party; anti-Taft Republicans; the CIO; the Wagner Act; OPA, which some officials maintain he killed single-handedly; opponents of Taft-Hartley; critics of Congressional investigating committees; England; Nehru; and the Civil Service. This list lays no claim to being comprehensive.

Robert Oppenheimer and all who were not convinced of the scientist's guilt as soon as he'd been accused served as recent targets for Lewis and afforded an opportunity for some typical forays. At six p.m. EST on June 15, an hour before the commentator was scheduled to deliver his evening's broadcast, the Atomic Energy Commission issued its 922-page text of the hearing, with a press release date of noon the next day. At seven p.m. Lewis broke the story. "I, for one," he declared, "am tired of the phony business of reports and documents being leaked to a selected if motley collection of the left-wing press, while the rest of the world toddles along behind." He singled out those flagrant leftists, James Reston and the Alsop brothers. From this 922-page document, which he had been able to study for something under a full hour, Lewis read a few excerpts, interpreting them as he went along as proving Oppenheimer's guilt to any objective mind like his own. When AEC press officer Morse Salisbury protested the release of the selected portions 17 hours early, Lewis connected Salisbury, a former Agriculture Department employee, with Henry Wallace, Lee Pressman, Harold Ware, UNRRA and David Lilienthal.

Twenty-four hours before Mendès-France's deadline at the Geneva talks, Lewis devoted all but 15 seconds of his broadcast to denouncing Senators Potter and Flanders and the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain for opposing McCarthy. The following night he announced the reaching of the long-awaited Indo-China cease-fire agreement in the last minute of his show. The first 14 were given over to elegies for departed and departing McCarthy subcommittee staff members. One of them, Thomas A. LaVenia, was compared to Jesus Christ. During the McCarthy censure debate, the Lewis quarter of an hour was taken up with detailed first-hand communiques on the condition of the Senator from Wisconsin's elbow.

While the 1948 election campaign was under way, John Crosby wrote:

> If there is any difference between a Fulton Lewis comment and any straight partisan campaign speech by a Dewey supporter, I fail to detect it. . . . I think he ought to be recognized as a campaigner, not as a commentator, and his national air time be paid for and so listed by the Republican National Committee.

In 1945 the Writers War Board applied some of its own adjectives to Lewis, who was on the NAM payroll during the early part of the war: " . . . shockingly isolationist, intolerant and divisive." The commentator's weekly 15-minute TV show, scheduled to appear in January, will, its producers promise, "bring Mr. Lewis' acute perceptions to bear on the big news stories of the week."

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When the acute Lewis takes his vacation in July, he entrusts his large audience to the good offices of Robert F. Hurleigh, "my man Friday." These kindred spirits met at the 1952 Republican convention; and the relationship has since bloomed. In addition to substituting for his Robinson Crusoe and producing his TV films, Hurleigh played Oppenheimer to Lewis' Loyalty Board in a dramatic reading of specially selected portions of the scientist's testimony.

As a commentator—9 a.m. EST every weekday—"Friday" Hurleigh is a ponderous copy of the master. Although he sometimes gets knotted up by grammar, has no command of the juicy Lewis expletive, and tends to belabor his point, in the essentials he's a perfect morning version, with the same gods, the same devils and the same esoteric standards of what constitutes the day's news (Senator McCarthy, the activities of local For America groups and any and all figures on the number of security risks who've been fired). On July 12 Secretary of State Dulles flew to Paris and made headlines on three continents. Hurleigh's lead story on July 12, a story that took up about a third of his entire show, had to do with the appearance of one Harvey Matusow, a former FBI Communist informant, before the House Un-American Activities Committee. The testimony which overshadowed the Dulles mission was a refutation of a report that Matusow had been telling lies. The next day Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, originator of the report on Matusow, reiterated his charge, but this Hurleigh did not find worth mentioning.

Fifteen minutes after Lewis goes off the air in the East, Gabriel Heatter comes on. To include Heatter, one of Mutual's most profitable acquisitions, among the ranks of news commentators is to play hob with semantics. Heatter is a one-man evening soap opera. Crises are overwhelming us every day, everywhere, and unless this philosopher's remarks are heeded, the resolution in every case is likely to be disastrous. He speaks of himself in the third person—"Heatter told them in '45"—a latter day prophet, warning, damning. Known in the trade as "The Voice of Doom" and "The Crier," Heatter can, and does nightly, go from deep melancholy to elation in the course of ten seconds, then plunges with hardly a pause into heartfelt panegyrics on a digestive aid, a laxative, a sure cure for hemorrhoids. Many of his fans address him as the Rev. Gabriel Heatter.

Heatter champions The People, especially old people and white collar workers. In a world dizzy with perils, he often seems the little fellow's sole defense and solace. He dispenses Homely Philosophy: "This land was founded on the proposition that every man willing to work should have the right to put away a dollar!" Diplomatic Policy: "One way to handle it [Communist aggression] in this hemisphere—give them their own medicine and give it to them fast!" Moral Truth: "Better 10 million times to stand alone than to hand over another man's land." Family Counsel: "I'm telling you—a deep-freeze refrigerator makes a home a *happy* home!"

On Sunday, John T. Flynn and Bill Cunningham appear to keep Mutual's audience in touch with things. Flynn, a familiar figure from the *New Republic*, then America First, and now a pillar of the For America group, enlightens listeners with such items as "Always remember that John Foster Dulles is on record in favor of uniting the United States and Great Britain in a single sovereign empire. This is the mainspring of his foreign policy." For Cunningham, whose likes and dislikes bear a marked resemblance to the likes and dislikes of Lewis, Hurleigh and Flynn, America is "a nation of good people compelled to walk alone" while the "godless hoards" of the East surge forward. "Almighty God be with us!" pleads Cunningham.

There are other regular commentators over Mutual—Harry Flannery among them. Flannery, as aggressive a pro-labor voice as you're likely to find on the airwaves, is sponsored on the network by the AFL. If the AFL wants to buy time from CBS, it can. But a network newsman would do the job; CBS doesn't sell time for controversy. Mutual is more obliging. A pressure group, if it pays for the privilege, can put its hand-picked spokesman on a nation-wide hookup. When Mutual spokesmen point to Flannery to demonstrate a width of opinion range, they are admitting their refusal to take on themselves the responsibility that William Paley talks about.

Another example of this shirking of responsibility occurred last Spring when Mutual handed over the production of "Reporters Roundup" to H. L. Hunt's "Facts Forum." What had been an ably conducted discussion program, guided by Everett Holles, an experienced newsman, was relegated to the ubiquitous Mr. Hurleigh. Mutual had previously accepted "State of the Nation," a similar show also produced by "Facts Forum." This neat arrangement saves the network several thousand dollars a year—not to mention all the headaches of doing its own producing.

The bent to the right of the "Facts Forum" foundation is no secret. But even if Mutual had handed over trusteeship of these theoretically public service shows to ADA, it would still have fallen short of Mr. Paley's goal.

The 1947 Hutchins Commission on Responsibility of Press, Radio and Motion Pictures drew the following conclusion: "One of radio's most serious mistakes has been the avoidance of a responsibility which the press long ago assumed: to mirror the views of conflicting groups by hiring trained men and women to canvass these groups and translate their views into terse, professional, attention-rousing language rather than by throwing their columns open to the untrained 'spokesmen' of the groups themselves."

Mutual wasn't listening then—and isn't now.

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US-UK Tariffs and Trade

by Roy Harrod

In October of this year, representatives of the 34 nations which have signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade opened meetings expected to last into February, 1955. The most important business before this Ninth Session of GATT is a US-United Kingdom sponsored review of the organization itself; the goal: to set up a permanent institution with greater authority to enforce an international code of fair conduct in trade matters before convertibility of non-dollar currencies is attempted. Below, Roy Harrod, noted British economist and author of *The Life of John Maynard Keynes*, examines United Kingdom objections to American tariffs and custom regulations, and US objections to discriminatory British restrictions on imports from dollar countries and to currency inconvertibility.

IN THE TASK of economic co-operation in the international field, which is of so much importance for the world, the main objective of both the US and the UK is the same, namely that there should be as much international trade as possible. As a *means* for increasing trade, the Americans stress the value of the free come and go of men and goods. Broadly the British are in agreement, although the socialist sector (if this is the right way to describe the Labour Party) have had a strong leaning to "planned" foreign trade, which cuts across the liberal method. There are, however, two reasons why this deviation may be less important in the future than it was after 1945. Generally it can be said that the Labour Party is turning away from more comprehensive systems of state control. Secondly, it is likely, should it gain office, to implement a line of policy which it finds in operation, if this has proved practicable and hopeful. The trouble in 1945 was that the plans for a more liberal system of international trade, which may be roughly associated with the name Bretton Woods, were in a very early stage of development, had not yet been adapted to the actual problems of the postwar world, and in Britain at least were only known to a very small top crust of people. If the two nations can develop a line of joint policy for world prosperity before a socialist-minded party gains power in Britain, there need be no fear of a subsequent reversal.

When we come to the detail of how such a policy is to be implemented, important differences between the US and the United Kingdom emerge. If a liberal system has not yet already developed, each country attributes the major share of blame for that to the other. The British see it in the high American tariff and, more especially, in the uncertainty about its future. The Americans see it in British quantitative restrictions on imports, discriminations and the inconvertibility of sterling which gives a preference to British sellers in third party markets.

Taking these two cases, it is to be observed that the American fault is of old standing, and that the United States has moved somewhat in a liberal direction in recent years. The British faults in contrast are the product of her postwar circumstances. At the end of the war Britain faced the need for a vast readjustment. Owing to her expenditure of her overseas assets during the war and the piling up of a heavy bill to pay, owing further to the great worsening of the terms on which she can now trade her exports in exchange for imports, and owing also to the displacement of gold from its major role in settling her accounts, Britain has had to produce and find markets for a quantum of exports of some 70 percent above their prewar level. The United States too has suffered a worsening in her "terms of foreign trade" and has greatly expanded exports. But the burden of this is far heavier for a country like Britain which has to export some 30 percent of her manufactured output, than for a country like the United States which only exports some 5 or 6 percent. "Illiberal" trading methods have been for Britain not so much a matter of choice as a dire necessity, until such time as her whole economy could be readjusted to these new tasks.

WHILE the United States has made tariff reductions, export to the American market is much burdened by exceedingly cumbrous procedures for the assessment of duties; but a still greater difficulty is the uncertainty about the future. Britain has to rely mainly on manufactured exports; in the case of these, capital has to be invested in the type of plant required for the products designed for specific markets and in the building up of goodwill in those markets, whether by advertisement or other methods. Some years have to elapse before an aggressive policy of selling to such a market brings adequate profit; what all British producers have in mind is that when the selling drive to an American market begins to be really successful, but before enough time has elapsed

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for the whole enterprise to have borne adequate profit, a pressure group will have got the tariff on the relevant article raised in the United States. Again it is important for Americans to remember that owing to the high proportion of exports in the British economy, already cited, many firms are mainly dependent on their export market, so that security for the future is a vital consideration, whereas for the corresponding American producer, the export market often only takes an overspill from its large production for the home market.

While many liberal Americans are in favor of tariff reductions, Americans generally tend to take the line that nations should be free to choose their own tariff levels (that being a question for national sovereignty), but should not "discriminate." Thus there is the feeling that while the United States may be somewhat at fault in her tariff policy, the fault of the British is much graver, because they employ discrimination, by means of quantitative import restrictions and, indirectly, by keeping sterling inconvertible. This is at the very heart of the difference of opinion between the two countries. The British do not want to have a high tariff. The Americans argue that quantitative restrictions is an even more powerful form of protection. To the Americans the fact that the British use this restriction in a discriminatory sense makes it worse; but to the British this seems its great justification. They do not want to restrict imports from the world generally, but only from the United States, and maybe some other selected countries. They cling to restriction, precisely because it is a method of having high protection against American goods and low protection against other goods. It would be quite open to them—and some people urge it—to abolish restrictions and raise their tariffs, discriminating in their tariff system against American goods. But surely this would be a retrograde measure. We all hope that the restrictions may be got rid of before too long, but a tariff is apt to be more permanent; and to introduce discrimination into the tariff would therefore tend to make discrimination itself more permanent, and that, we all agree, would be an evil.

THE British desire to discriminate for the time being *in order to avoid* having all-round high protection. The discrimination is against the dollar area, certainly not from any malign motive, but because it is the dollar balance that the events of the war have especially upset and because there is a worldwide dollar shortage. This same shortage makes it difficult to restore sterling convertibility, although some of us think that that should be done soon. The reason is that so long as the rest of the world has a strong unsatisfied demand for dollars, it would be liable to exploit the convertibility of sterling with a view to acquiring dollars via sterling, and Britain is just not strong enough to finance the dollar shortage of the whole world.

It is most important that the United States and Britain should work largely in unison at the current meeting in Geneva called to review the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Americans are liable to press the point that if they are to ask Congress to "bind" the existing, or preferably a lower, tariff structure, they will ask other nations to bind themselves not to employ quantitative restrictions at all. Looked at in isolation, this seems reasonable, since a country which pleads the innocence of a low tariff system can give itself strong protection by severe quantitative restrictions. Yet to press this view would be to miss what is still the essential point in the international situation. *Other* nations say that they do not want to have such high tariff protection as the Americans accord themselves, but only to refrain from buying dollar goods in excess simply because they have not the dollars to pay for them. And the reason for that is that the structural changes in production and consumption caused by the war have been of a specific kind, tending to put the dollar into short supply in the world.

TO MEET this point one really needs to revive the principle embodied in the "Scarce Currency Clause" of the International Monetary Fund, but not yet in effect. The idea behind that clause was that nations should *not* be free to discriminate at their own free will—that is for political motives—against any particular nation, but that they should be free, and even obligated, to discriminate collectively against a nation whose currency was in worldwide short supply. It may be that this clause was framed in a way which would make it difficult to operate without incurring a sharply hostile reaction from the American public. But the idea behind the clause is still one that should be borne in mind.

The Americans are perfectly right to decry as wicked arbitrary discriminations due to political motives. But a discrimination which is conditioned by hard economic facts and officially recognized as appropriate by such a body as the International Monetary Fund is in an altogether different category. And if we have to recognize that world trade has not yet sorted itself out into a pattern which makes unrestricted dealing and universally convertible currencies consistent with the solvency of each nation, it should be possible for British and American minds to think along the same lines at the current meetings of GATT.

It should be understood that both are seeking the greatest possible flow of trade, that both dislike restrictions and discriminations, that both are prepared to outlaw *arbitrary* discriminations, but that to meet the situation that actually exists, it is a better thing for a country to have a moderate level of discriminatory restriction than a high level of non-discriminatory restriction. If only a successful harmony of thought could be achieved on this central question, much would follow in the way of further co-operation.

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Report from Israel TO LIVE IN PEACE

I do not think there is any historical precedent for Israel's extraordinary success in taking almost a million immigrants from all parts of the world and within a few years turning them into a nation. Where America was a melting-pot, Israel is a pressure cooker.

Defying every law of economics, her trade gap is still more than $200 million a year—a colossal sum for a country of only a million and a half inhabitants. For another 12 years or so German reparations, American aid, and the contributions of Jews abroad will help to cover this. But then Israel will have to pay her own way, and it is an open question whether she will be able to do this while maintaining a West European standard of life.

Today the country is like a beleaguered garrison. On all sides press hostile Arab states which refuse to recognize Israel's existence and whose leaders are always talking of the "second round" in which they will avenge the humiliating defeat they suffered in 1948. The border settlers are living under almost intolerable moral and physical strain. More important still is the impact on the economy of the infant state. Defense takes an enormous toll of money and manpower. The Arab blockade cuts off all the most promising markets for Israel's export trade, in East Africa, Southern Asia and the Middle East itself.

In the long run Israel's very life will depend on achieving friendly co-operation with the Arabs for economic and political development throughout the Middle East. With nationalism raging like a fire throughout Africa and Asia it is inconceivable that Israel could hope to survive as a "white colony" in the Middle East, however strong her army or broad her frontiers. But Israel has very little scope for compromise. So long as the Arabs flaunt their intention of wiping her off the map Israel cannot be expected to throw away the few concessions she might ultimately afford for the sake of minor agreements which leave the central issue untouched.

Everyone knows that Israel is tied to the West by both political principle and material interest. But the Arab leaders can flirt dangerously with Moscow in the knowledge that even if the worst happens they can fly to Monte Carlo or Buenos Aires and live the rest of their lives in luxury. So the Western powers concentrate on winning friends among the Arabs. Some of their advisers regard Israel simply as an obstacle to stability in the Middle East whose disappearance would have advantages. And Russia pursues a 100 percent pro-Arab policy.

In spite of some bitter memories, many Israelis are beginning to look on Britain as their best friend among the Great Powers—she is already their main market. But Britain is handing over her responsibilities in the Middle East to the US. And, America, having played the central role in getting the state of Israel established, has moved to the other extreme. Her generals hope to train and equip strong Arab armies in the Middle East on the South Korean model — they have not yet learned from their more recent experience with Syngman Rhee. In any case, the Arab states have plenty of money to spend on arms so even if American policy changes, Arab armed strength will increase considerably in the next few years.

On the other hand the unity of the Arab world is under growing strain. Egypt may turn increasingly from the Middle East and seek her future in Africa. Iraq may desert the Arab League for the Turkey-Pakistan Pact in the North. Jordan and the Lebanon for various reasons both distrust the remaining Arab powers. Before long the stage may be set for a real improvement in Israel's relations with her immediate neighbors.

The real question is whether she can get through the next year or two without a new flare-up. At present Israel is feeling desperate. If the Western powers do not show a more urgent and effective interest in Israel's survival, pressure inside Israel for a preventive war may mount dangerously. At the moment Israel's army is probably stronger than all the Arab armies put together. So there are already some Israelis who feel it would be better to have the second round now than to wait until American aid and training tilts the balance of power toward the Arabs.

Israel's present leaders see clearly that such action would be ultimately suicidal. But unless she can be shown some peaceful way out of the present deadlock, desperation may produce a change in both opinion and leadership.

By now there is little chance of stopping the Arabs arming if they want to. So the immediate task is to see that Israel is able to keep pace with them. In the second place the West must make it much clearer to the Arabs that it would intervene to crush any Arab attack on Israel—and vice versa. Now that Israel has offered the Arabs a non-aggression pact, there is a strong case for some Locarno type arrangement in the Middle East to which the Western powers would also be a party. Words alone will not convince either Israel or the Arabs that the West means business unless Israel too can be associated in some way with the framework of Western defense. Direct military links with Britain or the US are unlikely in the immediate future. But there may be some way of associating Israel with the new Balkan Pact—incidentally Yugoslavia is now her closest friend after Burma.

Unless Israel's influence in the Western world can be increased in some such way, she will not feel any confidence in third-party mediation, and the Arabs will feel no incentive to make a settlement with her. I believe that a final settlement is unlikely to come about except through Western mediation—the scope for improving relations through direct talk is very limited. But in the right conditions outside intervention might help produce and guarantee a settlement. The recent agreement over Trieste is an example of what this kind of secret diplomacy can achieve. From such a start, positive co-operation could follow. And we might then see Israel lead the whole of the Middle East along the road to democracy and prosperity.

DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

★

The Superficial Aspect

WHO WOULD be Lyndon Johnson at a time like this? Or Sam Rayburn?

No doubt it is, in the estimation of the ordinary citizen, a gay and jocund estate to be Majority Leader of the Senate or Speaker of the House, but existing circumstances are so extraordinary as to make either position much less like that of a bird of paradise than like that of a turkey on the Wednesday before the last Thursday in November. Superficially, at least, it would seem that Messrs. Johnson and Rayburn stand an excellent chance of being offered up as burnt offerings on the altar of astounding politics.

It all traces back, of course, to Eisenhower's original error in supposing that he was the Republican candidate in 1952. Subsequent events have demonstrated that he was only the front and that Nixon was the candidate of rather more than half the party. Since it was obvious that Nixon couldn't be elected, Ike was the concession made to majority opinion. His function was to win at the polls, not to lead the party after the election; that function the Jenner-Knowland-Bricker element proposed to retain themselves.

But it has not worked out. Eisenhower has shown some disposition to occupy the position to which he was elected, and every evidence of it has received such tremendous popular support that reactionary isolationism has been thrown into confusion, leaving Senator Johnson and Representative Rayburn to move in next week.

The difficult question now before them is, shall they lead Congress in such a way as to make Eisenhower President in fact as well as in name for the next two years? The difficulty is that there are some indications that he would be a good one, and he might be so good as to be unbeatable in 1956. In that case, Johnson and Rayburn would have sunk their own party.

On the other hand, it is unthinkable that the Democrats should adopt Knowlandism and Nixonism, to say nothing of McCarthyism, merely to embarrass Eisenhower. That would mean forfeiting the respect of the independent voters who hold the balance of power at the polls and would doom them as certainly as the maintenance of Eisenhower's popularity would. At first glance, their position looks as hopeless as that of Lorenzo Dow's Calvinists—they'll be damned if they do and damned if they don't.

In all probability, though, the situation is not as bad as it seems. Like many another entangled in a seemingly fatal web of adverse circumstance, the Democratic leaders may yet escape to bear triumphant witness to the doctrine of justification by faith. It is unlikely that their own strength and skill will avail; but they may remember how often in the past two years a Higher Power has come to their aid, and put their trust in that. They should have faith in the ineluctable idiocy of Republican leadership.

If the light of the past is a guide to the future, it will not fail them. In January, 1953, the Republicans had everything—a popular hero, a prosperous country, hegemony of the free world, sturdy and enthusiastic allies abroad and at home 10 million voters who were tired of hearing Aristides called The Just. With only a little intelligent effort they should have been able to clinch their hold on power for at least 20 years.

The stunned and enfeebled Democrats were incapable of doing much about it. Nevertheless, in January, 1955, all that is left is the popular hero. Prosperity is ebbing, hegemony and allies are gone, and last November 52.3 percent of the electors voted that Aristides, after all, may be relatively just. What did it was not Democratic cunning, but Republican blundering, beginning when Charles E. Wilson crashed into Washington without having legally qualified for the position he was to hold, and continuing through a long series culminating when McCarthy denounced the leader of his own party as a weakling incapable of handling the Communists.

IF MESSRS. Johnson and Rayburn only have faith to believe in the perserverance in error of their opponents, their faith will probably save them. For the sorry Republican record is not due entirely to ineptitude; it also reflects an incompatibility between the two wings of the party that goes to the very basis of their political thinking. A party that doesn't know which way it is going is incapable of intelligent political action, and no hero's popularity can redeem it. It will be safe to build up Eisenhower as long as the others continue to tear down the party, for even the Blameless King fell sorely stricken when the Round Table had lost its virtue and had split into brawling factions.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Politics and Writing: The Orwell Analysis

by Peter Crowcroft

It is a pity that George Orwell did not write a systematic work on political philosophy. For he aimed at the intellectuals of the British Labour Party, and left what amounts to fragments of a modern philosophy. There are interesting silences. And we are left to wonder: what would Orwell have said about—this? Or that?

"All Art is propaganda." And by propaganda Orwell meant a subtle, psychological thing. He meant that values and opinions can be changed *in a political way* by reading, even though the reader is not overtly politically minded. And even though the writer is not consciously pleading a cause. For writing is about people. Class structures must appear. And the way the writer handles the social situation either supports, or undermines it. A society is accepted, or blamed. And thus the writing is propaganda.

Animal Farm was Orwell's first attempt to unite consciously the political and the artistic. It sold over 800,000 copies in the American and English editions alone. I mention this not as a gesture toward a success story, but to suggest that Orwell's social psychology was rock-founded. (And *Animal Farm* cannot be exactly classed as a sex-crime entertainment.)

Yet Orwell believed also that the acceptance of a political discipline by an artist spelled doom. He pleaded the need for a contemporary artistic schizophrenia. On the one hand, the artist should have complete freedom for his work. On the other, as an individual living in society, the artist should attend meetings, speak, support, oppose, and generally bear his responsibilities.

Twenty years ago we would have rejected this schizophrenia. We would have glibly said one to another: the neurosis is the conflict between the individual and society. Yet 50 years of Freud did not make the ovens of Nazi Germany burn any less bright. Not all German writers followed Thomas Mann out of the Reich into voluntary exile. It was, above all, the passivity, and then the support, of the intelligentsia of Germany for the Nazis, that makes the German problem so difficult.

And as for the *quality* of art that is politically subservient, where are the Tolstoys and Turgenevs of modern Russia?

By Orwellian analysis, in the 'twenties in Britain there was a mixture of political opinion. Disillusionment was a fashionable standard. The literary lions came from many directions—poverty, war, riches, influences, and anonymity. Joyce, Yeats, T. S. Eliot, were the giants. And T. E. Lawrence, whom Orwell called the last Right-wing intellectual.

The writers of the 'thirties, would-be grave diggers of the 'twenties, came, in general, from a different stratum of society. They were those paradoxes: those who turn against their own class. Public School, Varsity, Bloomsbury sequences. The Audens, Spenders, and Lehmans. The Day Lewises and Isherwoods. These writers of the 'thirties were Left-wing. Anti-fascist, but not anti-totalitarian. They could criticize society in England, and champion extremism. But the poverty they spoke of, they had never experienced. The system they derided, they had never been victims of. And the system they praised, they did not really know.

It is curious, when one remembers what these writers of the 'thirties wrote about the writers of the 'twenties. For their attacks were vitriolic. And despising. Yet how much talent of the twenties is still worth looking at. And where is the *Ulysses* of the thirties? Where *The Waste Land*?

Orwell himself was a writer who turned his back on his own caste. But he turned to experience. It was as if he were trying to fill in a vision of society as a whole. As if he felt he could not champion the underdog unless he were an underdog himself. A kind of self-appointed English Gorki.

And there were new things to learn. Some of his observations are startling. For instance—did one not always imagine that it was the working class that was emotional, and moulded by environment? And yet Orwell claims that the middle-class person is more likely to be destroyed by the force of poverty. Or more likely to believe in some un-commonsensical contemporary idea. As though the culture of the middle class were a more fragile thing than that of the working class. What a challenge to the years of superior schooling, to university, to way of life. And yet—is it not true? Have we not met highly educated fools, or reduced-in-circumstances moral defectives? And when we generalise about a literary era, do these individual observations not become generalised too?

Of course, we could join the pseudo-psychologists to examine Orwell himself. Certainly, he had guilt feelings towards the underdog. Again and again he illustrates them. And his sentimentalities. One of the most moving: when he refrained from shooting an enemy soldier, because the man was running along, keeping his trousers up with his hands: too visibly a human being to be an enemy.

But none of these observations about a writer really add to or subtract from any truth he has to say. We are merely feeding our gossip-instincts in dissecting him. Certainly we do remember from the war, it was rather our intellectual friends who gobbled up propaganda as such, and told us what we had already heard ourselves. And our plainer friends were the more skeptical. Our intellectual is up to the minute. And hence the target newspaper and radio propaganda hits most often.

In many works Orwell despairs of the intelligentsia. Yet he said that his later writing would not have been so desperate if he had not been so ill. Perhaps, in health, he would have developed the idea he wrote of, briefly, once. The idea of an "indeterminate Class." A class one could not recognize by manner or dress. One that had risen since 1918. The class of experts produced by a technical civilization. A class that had arisen by virtue of its intelligence, rather than by feudal claims to privilege, or by material inheritance. Perhaps theirs is the future.

Of what practical use is the Orwell

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political analysis of literature? Immense. It is as valuable as comparative anatomy to human anatomy. Or anthropology to psychology. It brings all human sections back to the observation of the writer. It has the range seriously to consider anything, from the Comic Postcard to Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*. It is not, like some Marxist attempts at the same thing, only a political assessment. It is, rather, an added level of literary appraisal. It still requires the other criteria of judging words.

AMONG other things, the technique revealed again the absence of the working class in English fiction. As one begins to protest, the shortness of ones proferred list is realized.

The middle-class of our century has not cared for humanity. It has occasionally risen to an inverted snobbery, but there has been no love. Orwell had regard for the inarticulate millions. Dylan Thomas certainly had. And how few others. In another century, in more stable societies, writers and story tellers had no restrictions. They were able to speak, as well as they were able, about any level of society. And for 50 years, we have had to read the middle-class, writing about themselves. The irony: that the favorite subject of a modern novelist should be: a novelist.

It has been a particular paradox that so many of the prewar writers nominally identified themselves with the masses. For, in fact, it has been especially that between-the-wars generation that made itself too precious to reach the masses at all. Modern Art is worth a laugh in any pub on any evening. Preferably a joke about painting. Not verse though. Not enough is read for anyone to appreciate the joke.

There has always been the connoisseur in art. And the rare piece. And any of us who, in any century, busied ourselves with an art, would have had more complex taste than average. But there would have been also a general standard, accessible intellectually to anyone. Pictures the peasant could understand. Good bad art in Orwell's terms.

But with our gigantic power presses, we have preferred to price the public, mentally, out of the market. Or, worse, we have let it fall back among the muck of pulp and novelettes. A black and white art world of the cheap or the inscrutable.

In the long-post-war Britain of the 'fifties, what is there? With varying sincerity, the left wing prodigies of the 'thirties are now posing on the Right. This is more fashionable. For them now, the word 'bolshy' is a cuss word. A few have some talent left. Fewer appear to have integrity. The major style is still intestinal and obscure. But new figures are at last appearing. There is the feel of change in the air. A wider cast. Publishers must take the public's pulse more often.

And the out-of-dateness that Orwell complained of in cheap popular literature survives. There are still plays put on in London's West End centered on house parties in mansions. And Suburbia flocks to see them.

THE common man still lives in a vanished world. Why should he not? Who is there to speak to him, who will not despise him? Who will speak for him, who will not misrepresent him?

There are not many who have felt true moral passion in Western Europe in the twentieth century. Shaw was one. Orwell was another. A sense of injustice. A religious fervor without religion. A continuity of the Christian conscience. Yet how, indeed, "restore a religious attitude in a society, while accepting death as final?" How tell ordinary people that their leaders do not recognize the absolute good and evil that are values in the common mind?

For this is an age in which the cinema is better built than the hospital. And more is spent on gambling than on the old. And "peace" is a dirty political word. And sermons bore. Unless you have the wit of Shaw, or the imagination of Orwell. And it is the age when anyone understanding the love of war, or racial pride, or leader-worship, can gather in the votes. What indeed *is* the inter-connection between the modern society-traits of sadism, masochism, success-worship, power-worship, nationalism and totalitarianism? Traits that are ugly even as words.

Shaw half understood the question—but made a joke of it. Orwell understood and asked it. But he died before he could answer it. I believe Orwell could have solved the question in his life time, if only a new political party had arisen in England in the late 'thirties and if it could have leapt to life in England once the war ended. A party that could have combined the passion that rules men's minds, with the intelligence that can re-arrange material life. A party that could have canalised the fine emotion and the defiant idealism that ran through the soldiers returning from victory. Those feelings that were to be wrapped in the damp shroud of restriction-delirious Labour.

To have been repelled from the totalitarian in the moral morass of the 'thirties was an achievement. It would have been so easy to have followed the crowd. To have known that emotions are more important than logic was also against the tide. Philosophers and psychologists have been busy with linguistic problems, while cities burned. Orwell could follow their arguments only impatiently, with the smoke pungent in his nostrils. For he knew that important subjects have been out of fashion with these clever men. How many ivory towers in such old, black cities. Towers of mathematical logic casting weird shadows over the Psychologic of humanity.

AND so his energies were spent, knowing that all revolutions are failures, and yet are not the same kind of failures. So that one must try. And one must be creative and critical. And in the end, support the party that it seems will do the most with the least amount of destruction, and no callousness. Yet already the moral rot that he saw in the Tory Culture had reached the Labour Party. And the democratic idea was becoming perverted in the Trade Unions, whose leadership were unable to understand their duties as clearly as their privileges.

There are millions in Britain who are not Tory, and who have become disillusioned with Labour. They are puzzled whom to support. There is a wealth of idealism and political art that waits for new champions. Tired of the "inevitability of gradualness" of Labour, in a nuclear age. Ignoring Communism. Despising the hypocrisis of the Tories, with their yelps about Free Enterprise, (counter-pointed by a massive Tory *silence over our complete lack of an* Anti-Trust Bill).

Such a new political party, combining the great changing vision of the British nineteenth century Liberals, with the creative passion of the early Trade Unionists, George Orwell would have inspired and instructed. Asking only, that it combined power with righteousness, his art would have been their propaganda.

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Dissent on the Supreme Court

by Alan F. Westin

To the casual observer, the dissenting opinion seems as natural a part of Supreme Court practice as the filing of briefs, and as fixed a part of American history as the presidential State of the Union message. Millions of Americans at the turn of the nineteenth century knew John Marshall Harlan as "the Great Dissenter" while they could not have told you who was Chief Justice. The notation at the end of a court opinion, "Holmes and Brandeis dissenting" was for many the judicial conscience of the 1920's and early '30's; while today, we often find the disagreements voiced in a case by Justices Jackson or Frankfurter more widely discussed than the opinions of the majority itself.

Justice William Johnson: The First Dissenter, by Donald G. Morgan (South Carolina; $6.50).

Part of this is due to the interest which Americans have in dissent itself, but partly, it is due to the fact that dissenting opinions are the sauce on the dish of Supreme Court history. Justice Harlan, for example, had a stormy career as a dissenter, for both his views and his language caused public controversy. In 1896, his angry dissent from the decision of his brethren declaring the federal income tax unconstitutional was branded in most of the press as vituperative and outrageous; the *New York Sun* called it "more appropriate to a stump speech at a Populist barbeque than to an opinion on a question of law before the Supreme Court of the United States." Harlan, whose performance that day was probably due to the fact that he blended firm principle with frequent toddy, later explained to his sons that he had done no more than to argue his belief that this decision, if left to stand, would "make the freemen of America the slaves of accumulated wealth," and he suggested that his sons view with some skepticism the reports of "the large newspapers who have vast incomes, and who do not wish to be called upon to pay any taxes whatsoever."

Many other stories of famous dissents could be mentioned. Few professors can resist telling their constitutional law classes about *Buck v. Bell*, a 1937 case, in which the court upheld a state sterilization law with the words, "three generations of imbeciles are enough," which is followed in the court reports by the single line, "Mr. Justice Butler dissents." Or, one could cite the extemporaneous remarks made by Justice McReynolds in 1935, when he dissented from the decision upholding the New Deal gold-clause legislation with the cry, "The Constitution, as we have known it, is gone. This is Nero at his worst."

Another reason why the dissent occupies its prominent place is because of its acknowledged value for the judicial process and for public understanding of court decisions. The dissenting opinion gives lawyers and the public a sharp critique of the majority holding in that case, probing weak points in the court's logic, or raising facts and issues disregarded by the majority. In time, many dissents become the majority opinions, as changes in personnel on the court, or in socio-political concepts, or the sheer persuasiveness of the dissenter's argument lead to a revision of the prevailing doctrine.

It will come as a distinct surprise to many readers, therefore, to learn that the practice of dissenting opinions has not always been a part of our judicial framework. The fact is, however, that it was abandoned during some of the early years of the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Marshall, that a national debate was staged over the place of dissent on the Supreme Court, and that the dissenting tradition was restored only after a bitter fight led by two men. These were Thomas Jefferson, that foe of judicial "sappers and miners," and William Johnson, Jefferson's first appointee to the Supreme bench and his truest Republican. To my mind, this is the most interesting part of Donald Morgan's pioneer biography of Justice

The Children's Innocent and Infinite Window

by Delmore Schwartz

JEREMIAH DICKSON was a true-blue American,
For he was a little boy who understood America, for he felt that he must
Think about *everything*; because that's *all* there is to think about,
Knowing immediately the intimacy of truth and comedy,
Knowing intuitively how a sense of humor was a necessity
For one and for all who live in America. Thus, natively, and
Naturally when on an April Sunday in an ice cream parlor Jeremiah
Was requested to choose between a chocolate sundae and a banana split
He answered unhesitatingly, having no need to think of it
Being a true-blue American, determined to continue as he began:
Rejecting the either-or of Kierkegaard, and many another European;
Refusing to accept alternatives, refusing to believe the choice of between;
Rejecting selection; denying dilemma; electing absolute affirmation: knowing
in his breast
The infinite and the gold
Of the endless frontier, the deathless West.

"Both: I will have them both!" declared this true-blue American
In Cambridge, Massachusetts, on an April Sunday, instructed
By the great department stores, by the Five-and-Ten
Taught by Christmas, by the circus, by the vulgarity and grandeur of
Niagara Falls and the Grand Canyon,
Tutored by the grandeur, vulgarity, and infinite appetite gratified and
Shining in the darkness, of the light
On Saturdays at the double bills of the moon pictures,
The consummation of the advertisements of the imagination of the light
Which is as it was—the infinite belief in infinite hope—of Columbus,
Barnum, Edison, and Jeremiah Dickson.

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Johnson. It makes his book, despite shortcomings caused by the unavailability of biographical material, a highly useful and instructive addition to the library of American constitutional history.

JOHNSON was a South Carolinian, educated at Princeton, experienced as a state legislator and judge, and destined to serve from 1805 through 1833 as minority spokesman on a Supreme Court which had a Republican majority but was busily issuing Federalist-oriented rulings under the guiding influence of a Federalist Chief Justice. Johnson proved to be a man little-suited to dance the tune which Marshall was calling, unlike other of his Republican colleagues. Johnson was a firm advocate of judicial self-restraint; he believed in the positive power of legislatures and broad jurisdiction for Congress, but he also insisted that property rights should be used "socially" and business regulated by the states and nation for the "advancement of society." Because of these disagreements with Federalist dogma, Johnson provides good contrast to the trend of the court, but since constitutional historians have been preoccupied with the careers of Marshall and Joseph Story, Johnson had largely been overlooked in the past. Professor Morgan, chairman of the political science department at Mount Holyoke, shows the injustice of that neglect in this volume, while demonstrating at the same time, I would argue, that Johnson really did not possess the intellect, subtlety, or style to justify a place for himself among the great members of the Supreme Court.

As the first spokesman for dissent, however, Johnson is a significant and appealing figure, and his campaign is worth remembering. While English practice had long accepted the separate opinion, John Marshall came to the Court in 1801 convinced that the United States Supreme Court should deliver only "the opinion of all" in each case. He defended this concept by arguing that "if any part of the reasoning be disapproved, it must be so modified as to receive the approbation of all." Thus, justices should modify their disagreements to protect the prestige of the Court (and, incidentally, to strengthen Marshall's own position there). Under the Chief Justice's forceful advocacy of this idea, not a single separate opinion came from the justices between 1801 and 1804, although twelve such separate opinions had been filed in the previous ten years.

In 1805, however, Johnson was appointed as the first Jeffersonian justice. He had been recommended to the President by party leaders as a man with "good nerves in his political principles," and Jefferson needed a good man to oppose "that crafty chief justice" who was delivering opinions "as if unanimous, and with the silent acquiescence of lazy or timid associates. . . ." Johnson was not long in coming into conflict with the one-opinion practice, an experience which he later described as follows:

> Some case soon occurred in which I differed from my brethren, and I thought it a thing of course to deliver my opinion. But, during the rest of the session I heard nothing but lectures on the indecency of judges cutting at each other, and the loss of reputation which the Virginia appellate court had suffered by pursuing such a course.

Johnson did not submit to the pressure, though, and allow himself to become "a cypher in our consultations." He "bent to the current, and persevered until I got them to adopt the course they now pursue, which is to appoint someone to deliver the opinion of the majority, but leave it to the discretion of the rest of the judges to record their opinions or not. . . ."

Johnson's perseverence led to his breaking the silence rule at will; he issued six written dissents and four concurrences between 1808 and 1809, for example. He seemed to acquiesce for a time in Marshall's attempt to restore the one-opinion practice between 1819 and 1822, when five highly controversial decisions were handed down without a single dissent being written by one of the Republican justices, though the rulings were greeted with a roar by Republicans in the nation at large. (Among the decisions were McCulloch v. Maryland, the Dartmouth College case, and Cohens v. Virginia, all expanding national power at the expense of the states). Before long, prodded by Jefferson, Justice Johnson began once more to expound full dissenting views whenever important questions of constitutional policy were involved. By the time of his death, Johnson had delivered thirty-two dissenting opinions, almost three times as many as any other member of the court. As Professor Morgan notes, "more than any other judge he could lay claim to having established the principle and practice of dissent."

The Roots of Ill-Will among Men

by Charles Angoff

WITH this book Dr. Allport, professor of psychology at Harvard, wipes out some of the shame that the late Professor William McDougall brought upon Harvard with his study entitled, *Is America Safe for Democracy?,* published some thirty years ago. With bogus anthropological data and even more bogus psychological theorizing Professor McDougall lined himself up pretty much with the late Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant who, by and large, subscribed to the doctrine that the Anglo-Saxon "race" was superior to the Latin "race" and the Jewish "race" and the Negro "race," and they implied that if America wanted to grow "healthfully" it should do something about keeping "inferior" blood from flooding the country and from "mongrelizing" it. The most elaborate study of psychology clearly does not insure one from being a fool or a propagandizer of malicious nonsense.

The Nature of Prejudice, by Gordon W. Allport (Beacon; $7).

Dr. Allport's encyclopedic volume proves that prejudice, like cancer, cuts across all strata of society, all callings, all ages, all professions, virtually all religions. His analysis is perhaps the most extensive that has yet appeared in English, and it is animated with a true spirit of scientific objectivity. While he is chiefly concerned with anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-Negroism, he also had much to say that illuminates McCarthyism. He relies heavily upon the researches of others, and his condensation and integration of their find-

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ings perhaps form his main contribution, but he also manages now and then to throw fresh light upon an old disease. He points out, for example, that while "white people in the lower socio-economic levels are, on the average, more bitterly anti-Negro than white people at higher levels," the reverse situation holds true for anti-Semitism, "which seems relatively more pronounced at the higher socio-economic levels than at the lower."

And he shows that verbal hostility against any group of people generally leads to physical violence against that group. Seventy years of political anti-Semitism—and Dr. Allport might have added, intellectual anti-Semitism and social anti-Semitism and religious anti-Semitism—finally broke out into the discriminatory Nürnberg laws and the mass murder of Jews sanctioned by the Hitler regime. As Dr. Allport says, "It is apparent . . . that under certain circumstances there will be stepwise progression from verbal aggression to violence, from rumor to riot, from gossip to genocide." This, of course, raises the whole problem of free speech—whether the free speech of a Gerald L. K. Smith has the same constitutional sanctions that the free speech of, say, Father Divine has. Dr. Allport, so to speak, looks upon this problem as out of bounds for him, but he does pose a very important question in law as well as in morals.

He also has the courage to quote the Fathers of the Christian Church to indicate that anti-Semitism has several of its roots in some of their harangues. It was, for example, none other than St. John Chrysostom who said in one of his sermons on the Jews that "debauchery and drunkenness have brought them to the level of the lusty goat and the pig. . . . We should not even salute them, or have the slightest converse with them. . . . They are lustful, rapacious, greedy, perfidious robbers." There were other saints, including Gospel writers, who held similar views, as is made abundantly evident in M. Hay's excellent book, *The Foot of Pride*, perhaps the best one-volume analysis of the Christian roots of anti-Semitism.

SINCE Allport repeatedly states how little psychology in its present state has to offer toward the basic understanding of prejudice, he is forced to say a similar thing when discussing therapy. He thinks that the schools and religious leaders can and should preach more "tolerance," that some individual anti-Semites and anti-Catholics and anti-Negroes need personal psychiatric help, and that "laughter is a weapon against bigotry. It too often lies rusty while reformers grow unnecessarily solemn and heavy-handed."

This obviously is not much to make one optimistic about the future of sanity and decency in group relations, but one can hardly blame Dr. Allport for that. As a piece of scholarship his book has great value, and will no doubt become a standard reference book for years to come.

YET one must make certain criticisms. One has the feeling that Dr. Allport is too cautious now and then. He speaks of the roots of anti-Semitism in some of the Christian Fathers, and stops there. What about some of the leaders of the contemporary Catholic and Protestant Churches? Has the Vatican ever formally and by name and title denounced the anti-Semitic writings of the Fathers? To the best of my knowledge it has not. Wouldn't it be a powerful weapon against anti-Semitism for the Vatican to do so? It would have strengthened Dr. Allport's book had he discussed this in detail. And coming down to our own times, why was the Catholic hierarchy in Boston so silent in the anti-Semitic riots that have broken out in Boston during the last fifteen years? A real blast from the archbishop's residence would probably have instantly stopped these small pogroms, which is exactly what they were.

Anti-Semitism is more poisonous than anti-Negroism because, as Dr. Allport himself points out, it has sanction in some of the higher economic and intellectual circles—and, he might have added, emotional poison of a social nature is often obtained from above, it seeps down from intellectual leaders. It is a pity that Dr. Allport slides over anti-Semitism among the intellectuals. It makes its appearance in the strangest places. A liberal woman editor, whose heart bleeds every day for the suffering "underprivileged" people in India and China and Spain and the Balkans, once said to an editorial male colleague, "You know, dear, if you took a haircut more often, you wouldn't look so Jewish." A professor of history at one of the largest Eastern universities, now in the forefront of the fight against McCarthyism, a lecturer at various Jewish centers, who has appeared in virtually every liberal periodical in the country, whose very name is, among some, a synonym for what a truly civilized professor should be, once told me that he saw nothing wrong in the quota system with regard to Jews in his university, "because, after all, —— university is a national university, and it should represent the whole country, and not just a small group, and the Jews are a small group. Besides, if we accepted students only on the basis of examinations, and not personality, there would be too many Jews, and that wouldn't be right, would it?"

The dean of one of the oldest and most celebrated Christian theological seminaries once said to me, a guest at his table, "When are you Jews going to stop being stubborn and admit the divinity of Christ? All your troubles, I sometimes think, come from this stubbornness of yours. You're a stubborn people, far more, I should say, than an aggressive people, though Jews, I must also admit, can hardly be called meek." Thus spoke a man who had invited me to his house because he wanted me to do him a favor in the magazine world. Is this man anti-Semitic? Unconsciously, he is, I think, and if I had the space I would give my reasons. This brings up the name of Arnold Toynbee, who in one of his recent volumes belittled Judaism as a religion and called it "ossified." The Jewish world is in an uproar over it, and rightly, I think. For it reveals Dr. Toynbee as hardly the objective historian he claims to be. It reveals him, in my opinion, as a man of prejudice. Is he anti-Semitic? Consciously, of course, not. Unconsciously, I'm not so sure.

I'm not a trained psychologist. Dr. Allport is, and a very good one, I am told by his peers. I wish he had delved into some of the questions I have raised, and into others of a similar cast. They are urgent questions, I incline to think. I hope that sometime soon he will revise his book and deal with these questions. Then his book will be even better than it already is.

Notes on the Critics

PETER CROWCROFT is a young British novelist. ALAN F. WESTIN is teaching at the Harvard Law School. CHARLES ANGOFF's novel *The Sun at Noon* will be published this month.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► More Light on Dixon-Yates

SIRS:

You went to the facts about TVA—that's what I liked most about your articles. There is a feel of being there that marks good reporting.

DAVID E. LILENTHAL

New York City

• • •

SIRS:

Your pieces on TVA have been excellent. I am so much obliged to you for having covered the subject as you did not only because "our cause is just" but because I was just leaving Knoxville when Michael Straight arrived to make the *New Republic* survey. We seem to have covered the same territory and come to the same conclusions.

I have always been interested in this splendid venture, believed in its wisdom and watched its development attentively . . . from a distance. I have purred with pride when others have spoken of it enthusiastically. Therefore when Mr. Eisenhower referred to it as "creeping socialism" I was so shocked that I pulled my aged frame together and made a pilgrimage to see for myself how socialism creeps. What arrant nonsense and how ignorant!

I talked with a number of those farmer folk; all of good stock however degraded by long endured poverty. I shall never forget the talk of one man, born on what is now the bottom of Norris Dam . . . born to Nothing . . . born to continual wanting. Never enough food, never sufficient clothing, no schooling, no ideas, yet with a kind of dumb longing for Something. Due to TVA he now owns 40 acres from which he makes a good living, sends his two fine sons to High School, has plenty to eat of a balanced diet and knows what that term means. He is proud of his sons' learning and feels sure of their future security because of their learning and he is content.

When I asked whether he regretted having to leave his ancestral acres he looked at me with a puzzled expression and finally replied: "Mister, you couldn't understand what I come from or you wouldn't ask me that. Just look at my fine boys, my wife, my house and barn, my cattle. Inside my house I got me a radio, a TV set, a good refrigerator and all. Why Mister, we ain't *never* had *nothing* before."

That tells the entire story. I came away convinced that we *are* our brothers' keepers . . . and fully confident that if my fellow Americans could see what I have seen and what you have reported so well, they would vote overwhelmingly to build just such splendid dams wherever they are needed.

JAMES COLLIER MARSHALL

Charlottesville, Virginia

► Jews and Revolutions

SIRS:

In an emotionally charged review of my book, *Scapegoat of Revolution* (*NR*, December 13), Maurice Goldbloom imputes to me "attacks on all movements for the salvation of the human race." To cushion the possible shock to your readers, I had better restate briefly the major theses of my book:

Violent social upheavals, and these have not always been "movements for the salvation of the human race," have almost always had the immediate effect of imperilling the physical safety and spiritual autonomy of the Jew. The pattern was set by the Lutheran Reformation, when Martin Luther accused Jewry of acting as an accomplice of the Church, and the Church accused them of instigating the Reformation. Luther had at first defended the Jews hoping that they might witness to the truth of his doctrine. When they remained indifferent, he turned against them. This has too often been true of subsequent revolutions. The revolutionaries somehow expected that all Jews would embrace their cause and reacted in anger when the Jews failed to live up to these expectations. Furthermore, even the humanist constitutionalist revolutions, whose ultimate effect has been salutary for the Jews, often made impossible demands upon them. The French Assembly debated several years whether or not to grant them equality, and even their friends stipulated that the equality be granted to the Jews as humans, but not to the Jews as a people—in other words, that the Jews must surrender their collective identity if they want to achieve individual dignity. Hungary's liberator Kossuth likewise insisted that the Jews must abandon their "superstitions," before they are admitted into "civilized society." Is one supposed to distort history for the purpose of preserving the romance about revolutions?

Socialist anti-Semitism cannot be dismissed as lightly as Mr. Goldbloom seems to do. From Proudhon down to Lenin, the Socialists sadly misunderstood the Jew. They denounced him as a class, and anticipated his disappearance as an identifiable collectivity in Socialist society.

Fourier, Marx and Bakunin were vulgar anti-Semites. Others, like Kautsky and Lenin, simply did not comprehend the nature of the Jewish people. Barring the exceptions that prove the rule, only those unconcerned with their people's group survival and entertaining a large measure of self-contempt, could subscribe to the universal socialistic doctrine of that day, the Communist doctrine of this day, which defines all Jewry as a parasitic class and envisions its dissolution.

I draw clearer distinctions than Mr. Goldbloom conveys throughout my book, between evolutionary and revolutionary socialism, without confounding, as Mr. Goldbloom does, social justice and revolution. I also point up that British socialism, from the days of Utopian Owen, has always been free of racial and religious bias. Mr. Goldbloom ascribes "racism" to me. It consists of this: I maintain that the Hitler catastrophe might have been of even larger dimensions, if somehow, in the nineteenth century, the Jews had not begun their treck from countries influenced by an authoritarian church culture (Czarist Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Germany) into the countries of the Dutch-British Protestant tradition (which, of course, includes the US). I maintain that in the countries of the Dutch-British Protestant tradition with its deference toward exceptionalism, the Jews have achieved greater opportunities than ever before in history. I point up Israel and Britain-US as the two poles of Jewish group survival. I am a Zionist,

The New Republic welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.

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of course, but you need not be a Zionist to agree with this analysis.

The *New Republic* has suggested, for reasons of space and reader interest, that I scrap a prepared point-by-point rebuttal and deal with the larger issues. I have so done. Had I half of Mr. Goldbloom's space, I might have dealt with his strange challenge of the irrefutable record of Zionist-Communist hostile counterposition, his oversimplification of Mapam and his preference for legend over fact in discussing Narodnaya Volya.

JUDD L. TELLER

New York City

► The Death of a Liberal Paper

SIRS:

Apparently as a Christmas present . . . to several million Democratic voters in Southern California, the liberal Los Angeles *Daily News* died of a heart attack, the last rites being administered by the Chandler monopoly. The *Mirror*, the p.m. daily of the Chandler concern, included in today's issue the *Daily News* masthead of its own.

In the *Mirror's* editorial of today former subscribers to the *Daily News* were promised another Messiah in the form of "liberal" and "progressive" policies. It was stated that the *Mirror* is not in accord with "some of Sen. Joe McCarthy's tactics."

The *Mirror*, further, elaborated on its philosophy of endorsing the "man" (pronounce: Republican) rather than the "label," probably referring to "them Democrats." As a "proof" for their thesis, the editorial proudly boasted of having "supported" the only unopposed candidate on the ballot, Attorney General Pat Brown (a Democrat). Of course, the *Mirror* realizes Brown would have won handily without the *Mirror's* worthy support!

Southern California (which the pro-Democratic *Daily News* used to serve) has a population of nearly six million, with 63 percent of its voters having registered as Democrats. Yet, not a single Democratic sheet will be available for some time to give political nourishment to the man in the street.

HANS A. ILLING

Los Angeles, California

"THE ESSENCE OF OUR ABIDING ISMS: Capitalism, Socialism, Communism impartially considered." By Victor S. Yarros, retired journalist, teacher and lawyer, for eleven years an associate of Clarence S. Darrow. 15 cents a copy. Address: 1356 Virginia Way, La Jolla, Calif.

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BANDWAGON

DR. CHARLES A. LAUGHEAD says he has no special plans for Tuesday—the day he predicts Chicago wil be destroyed by a tidal wave.

He said many Chicagoans had called the Oak Park home of Mrs. Martin to find out what they should do Tuesday.

"Some of them were genuinely concerned," Dr. Laughead said, "but most of the calls were just a nuisance. We've been bothered by a lot of crackpots."—*Chicago Sun-Times*, December 21, 1954.

THE Republican Chairman of Sen. Joseph McCarthy's home state said today that "somewhere along the line he (Sen. McCarthy) seems to have lost his ability to make friends and influence people."—*Washington Daily News*, December 8, 1954.

THE UNITED NATIONS wes established solely for the purpose of changing the form of the United States government, Milton M. Lory, president-general of the National Society, Sons of the American Revolution, told 250 members of his society and of eight chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Hotel Cleveland last night.

Lory, who lives in Sioux City, Iowa, told of seeing a draft of the United Nations Charter on a visit to Russia in 1937. On the same visit, too, he saw a map in the Russian building devoted to world revolution of the United States as it would be.

"The name on the map opposite the star where Detroit is now was Reuthergrad," he said.—*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, December 10, 1954.

***Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS.**

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1954.

J. V. McAree

Tops in Magazines

WE RISK nothing but a reputation for infallibility and impeccable taste when we offer the opinion that The New Republic (November 22) is the finest issue of a magazine we have ever seen. It sells for 75 cents and will become what is called a collector's item. It celebrates the fortieth birthday of the magazine and is made up of articles which have appeared in the course of its career. Among the contributors we see such names as George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Ernest Hemingway, James Joyce, Heywood Broun, Katherine Mansfield, Bertrand Russell, Theodore Dreiser, Felix Frankfurter, E. M. Forster and W. B. Yeats. The others are scarcely less distinguished. Here is material for dozens of columns but we have decided to limit ourself to just one, namely F. P. Adams' essay on Mr. Dooley which is apt to appear in a few days. We confine ourself now to a sketch of the magazine's history written by Bruce Bliven.

Potent Book

He begins by dismissing the myth that The New Republic was originally intended for publication in August, 1914, ... war set the editors ... on their heels that ... able to compose ... stabilize their ...

Nation. Neither of them has had a great circulation but they together have proved a seminal influence upon American thought. Perhaps it is not necessary to say that they both stand toward the Left in political and social thinking. They are as much against communism as The Chicago Tribune; they are equally opposed to Joe McCarthy; and perhaps it would be fair to say that they are both socialistically inclined. The New Republic has always had the advantage of The Nation in that it has had stronger financial backing.

First Editor

For many years, indeed until his death, Croly was the guiding spirit. He wrote the weekly editorial, and this labor took him the best part of a week. He would turn up one day with the editorial which was hardly decipherable for the many additions and amendments it had undergone on the first draft. This would then be typed by a stenographer who possessed some of the gifts of a mind reader and Croly would take it home. Next day he would turn up with more corrections and deletions and once more the editorial would be typed, and so on far into the week. He collected a brilliant staff which included, at one time or another, ... Merz, now editor of The ... Times; A. ... on, ... ann, ... as

"We risk nothing," writes F. V. McAree in the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, "but a reputation for infallibility and impeccable taste when we offer the opinion that *The New Republic* (November 22) is *the finest issue of a magazine we have ever seen.*"

35 copies of this 128-page 40th Anniversary Issue have been printed on White Laid Curtis Rag Paper and may be purchased by collectors who wish to add this anthology to their libraries.

Only one book signed by the editor and publisher will be sold to an individual.

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HOW TO TRAVEL WITHOUT BEING RICH

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You can't help but learn something that is just meant for you. Yet, *Where to Vacation on a Shoestring* costs only $1. To make sure your next vacation will be something to talk about, get the facts now. Use the coupon to order.

Where Do You Want to Go?

FRANCE? WEST INDIES? BRAZIL? HAWAII? MEXICO?

Read what The Christian Science Monitor says about a new way to travel that sometimes costs 1/3 to 1/2 less.

BY THE travel editor of The Christian Science Monitor: Many fascinating travel booklets pass over this desk in the course of a year but the one that arrived the other day so interested this department that it cost the office several hours of work in order that we might absorb its contents. The booklet is entitled "Travel Routes Around the World" and is the traveler's directory to passenger-carrying freighters and liners. In no time at all you find yourself far out to sea cruising along under tropical skies without a care in the world. You find yourself docking at strange ports and taking land tours to those places you long have read about. Most interesting of the vast listings of ships are the freighters which carry a limited number of passengers in quarters comparable to the luxury offered in the so-called big cruise ships which devote most of their space for passengers.

The booklet first of all answers the question: What is a freighter? The modern freighter, says the booklet, ranks with the de-luxe passenger vessels so far as comfort and accommodations are concerned.

LARGE ROOMS WITH BEDS

It is important to realize that in most cases today, freighter passengers are considered first-class passengers, although the rates charged are generally on a par with either cabin or tourist-class fare. Most passenger-carrying freighters, to quote the booklet, have their private bath and shower, and these cabins offer beds, not bunks. The rooms are generally larger than equivalent accommodations aboard passenger ships, and the cabin of a modern freighter is sometimes even twice as large as first-class cabins on some of the older passenger ships. It goes without saying that your room is on the outside, and amidships, the most expensive of all locations, for which you are usually charged a premium over the advertised minimum fares on passenger ships.

This booklet points out that it is frequently astonishing how low freighter fares are as compared with passenger ship fares; for example, less than one-half of the passenger ship fare to California is the amount asked on freighters. On most of the longer runs, the difference in favor of the freighters is regularly from a third to half of the passenger ship fare.

SERVICE AND MEALS RATED EXCELLENT

Service and meals on a freighter leave little to be desired. You will be treated with consideration. Stewards will go out of their way to make your voyage pleasant. On ships with East Indian stewards you will be waited on almost hand and foot, in a manner that is completely unknown to Americans and most Europeans.

Foreign ships offer their own specialties, says the booklet. Thus vessels in the East Indian trade serve Rijkstafel (or King's Table), the East Indian dish which can run to as many as 50 different courses, Scandinavian ships serve Smorgasbord every day, and some of their desserts (like strawberries smothered in a huge bowl of whipped cream) are never forgotten. Another feature of freighter travel is in its informality. No formal clothes are needed. Sports clothes are enough.

Other valuable information such as how to tip, shipboard activities and costs are covered in the booklet, "Travel Routes Around the World." Some of the trips listed include a trip to England for $160, a 12-day Caribbean cruise for $240, or a leisurely three-month Mediterranean voyage.

The booklet is published by Harian Publications, Greenlawn, New York, and may be obtained by sending to the publisher. So, when it arrives all you need to do is sit down and take your choice. The booklet lists literally hundreds of ocean trips.

"Travel Routes Around the World" is yours for just $1, and the big 128 page 1955 edition includes practically every passenger carrying service starting from or going to New York, Canada, New Orleans, the Pacific Coast, Mexico, South America, England, France, the Mediterranean, Africa, the Indies, Australia, the South Seas, Japan, Hawaii, etc. There's a whole section called How to See the World at Low Cost, plus pages and pages of photos and maps.

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